7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1965 ME1 Lebanon ME1

new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the now ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*bīr*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibrīiq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *ḥanafiyyi*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Ḥanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *ḥanafiyyi* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

352 arms at the ends, extends around the walls. This is fitted with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with stiff cane backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough wooden stools with soft cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy-chairs will be found.

353 The walls are devoid of ornamentation, with one exception which is conspicuous in the houses which have it. This is a concentrated mass of photographs, some yellowed with age, some brand new, of various members of the owner's family, including emigrants who are fondly remembered. Sometimes, among the family photographs, there will also be one or two postcard-sized pictures of saints or members of the Holy Family. However, as far as the writer is aware, there are no houses which have anything resembling a household shrine, and many have no religious symbols whatever.

Especially in the older houses, there are recesses in the walls, often closed [251] with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go from the *maq'ad*, or front section, to the rear. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as is the case with several essentially one-room houses.

352 Every house is wholly or mostly equipped with metal bedsteads, springs,
513 mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and/or design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sheepskins wrapped in blankets or quilted puffs. Only suggestions of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the chief fuel was brushwood. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primus" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Basic instructions for its operation are etched on the side of its brass fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive to buy and operate and is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

415 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a teakettle; a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee); a cylindrical brass coffee grinder; pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery; and a stone mortar and pestle. Hardware would include a ladle, knives of various sizes, and long-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Food is served on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriiq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriiq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beakers, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriiq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the leftovers from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

354 mate. Central heating is found in only a fraction (1 %) of the buildings. It is demanded only by non-Lebanese. Beirutis find it too warm for the type of clothing that they wear indoors and out in the winter.

7.19 Adequacy of living room furniture, Table 112

352 In general, the amount of furniture was judged adequate (80 %). Adequacy was defined as sufficient furniture in evidence in the

352 room in which the interview was held. Sufficiency was judged by the enumerator listing the furniture in sight, and judgement being made in the office.

7.20 Condition of furniture, Table 113

One quarter of those interviewed had furniture in such a poor state of repair that it was classified as bad or sub-standard. Interviewers made the judgement on the basis of their opinion of the state of repair.

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12: Churchill S-5 (1955) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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Table 112

Adequacy of Living Room Furniture

Degree of adequacy	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1799	100.00	
Adequate	802	44.58	.011
Fairly adequate	646	35.91	.011
Inadequate	329	18.29	.009
None	17	0.94	
No answer	5	0.28	

Table 113

Condition of Furniture

Condition of furniture	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1787	100.00	
Good	537	30.05	.011
Fair	803	44.94	.012
Bad	442	24.73	.010
No answer	5	0.28	

16:Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

to the term, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Munsif can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge—a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones.

Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America—mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs—all of European manufacture and/or design—are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that al-Munsif partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Munsif, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Munsif was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawran in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 523 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details